/36 cont./

861 your fault; and as you would not listen to me, you can suffer the consequences." Or she consoles him by saying: "Don't cry, it doesn't really hurt; It is not worth crying about. Be a man." If the one hurt is a girl, the mother soothes her saying: "Why are you crying when you are braver than any man? You always behave with more pluck than they do."

Another way to get them to respect an order is to have recourse to stimulation by comparison. "Your brother -- or so-and-so -- obeys /37/ his mother promptly and helps her without being told what to do." Or she tells him, to encourage his efforts: "Why won't you be able to do such a thing if X... who is smaller than you already can do it?"

Obedience and submission are also achieved with presents. When the parents go to a village, they bring back for the son something he has wanted. They will also promise him some gift, trying to satisfy his taste or the particular liking of the child. "I will give you such-and-such a sweet cake"; "I will give you this"; "I will let you go to that place"; "I will let you play with your friend if you will do what I ask promptly and well."

• • •

•769 867 The cult of the dead is fundamental in the social life of the Guajiro, and the child is instructed in it. This cult represents, moreover, another bond of union among the living, by its reminder of a tie of common blood, which relates to a third person to whom mutual relationship is recognized; moreover, it makes common cause with the incidents of his life and death, evoking a strong sense of solidarity.

The cult of the dead expressly implies a series of obligations in which the child is instructed and compliance with which is directly associated with the maintenance of the status of the dead person's family group, obligations which this training tends to render unavoidable.

Probably the cornerstone of this instruction is the daily calling to mind of dead relatives, for at three o'clock in the morning,

/37 cont./

769 867 more or less, when the people who sleep in the house have not yet risen from bed, the woman of most authority in the home -- the mother, the grandmother, the maternal aunt, or the eldest sister -- begins to recall their departed ones by a long-drawn-out wail the same as is customary in the lamentations at the wake, and immediately following she starts sobbing and in a mournful tone recites an account of her sorrows for the death of her relatives. She says, for example: "Oh! We have no mother; it is sad she did not die of some sickness, but that they killed her . . . ," and she goes on describing her death with all the sorrowful details: the humiliations and troubles she had to put up with from another group, emphasizing especially this death has not been satisfied, that is to say, is without a just compensation payment, that those who killed her are living tranquilly; that the family blood was spilled by people who are still unpunished. She then relates the social dangers that threaten her family at the moment from other groups, their anxieties over the coming summer /the dry season/ which will further impoverish /38/ them and thus bring them less justice, but returning continually to the theme of the dead relative, going back even to the long past death of some other member of the family who often even her own mother had not known, associating in this way the family dead of different periods, referring again to his or her natural or violent death with all its details, trying in accordance with the Guajiro point of view to discover the person who, for whatever motive, is responsible for the deed, making the whole weight of responsibility fall on him or her as a relief to her sorrow.

Once this narration has ended, the sobbing is suspended for a few minutes, and then another of the women of the house returns to the same subject in identical form, until every adult woman in the house has unbosomed her sorrow, referring to the past with its bitterness and to the anxieties of the future, recalling the memory of their lost ones and the causes of their deaths. This daily repetition results in the children's not only learning the cult of the dead but also the past history and the fellowship of feeling of the family group. They learn to admire the virtues

/38 cont./

769 867 of their ancestors or to sympathize with their humilations, share in their hatreds and common sorrows, as well as to learn to perform this practice and repeat and transmit it when they form their own homes.

764 769 867 Furthermore, the presence and participation of the children in the ceremonies which are performed at the death of a relative are meant to teach them through experience each one of these ceremonies. Thus he learns and has engraved on him the feeling of mutual support that exists between related members of a group, such as the financial help that must be forthcoming, when it is a case of a poor relative, in order to be able to sacrifice animals and to see to the necessary amount of liquor and hospitality customary on such occasions, and the shrouding of the corpse, the etiquette that life beyond the grave demands from the wife, the relatives who intervene in these activities and their behavior (such as their weeping at the foot of the corpse), fasting and abstinence from meat: in fact every one of the established cultural patterns obligatory at these times, and it is an apprenticeship which the child receives through explanation and personal observation.

The child also shares in the family life during the days immediately after the burial; in the offerings that are taken to the dead one when it is feared, by magical indications, that his life beyond the grave is not normal for lack of something that he needs; in the periodical visits made to the grave and in the bonfires that for several nights are lit to illuminate the path of the dead.

769 571 867 Later he joins in the ceremony of exhumation. He knows his part and that of his immediate relatives and, as in the previous cases, each one /39/ of the traditional norms. But the most important thing about all these activities is not to learn to carry them out correctly, but to establish the sense of solidarity with the dead one, with the family, and with the society in which he lives. With the dead, by fulfilling an obligation of consanguinity in order to assure him -- even by coercion of

/39 cont./

769 571 867 his spirit -- a proper life in the future. With his family, by mutual aid and solidarity in sorrow and in their joint economic effort, and in the case of a violent death, by making common cause in order to obtain effective justice and the negotiation for the compensation payment, in order that the blood spilled may be properly atoned for.

He also learns the extent of the injury to a dead relative, linked to the mention of his name, which may revive all the sorrows, feelings, and painful past of the group.

Regarding society, the child learns how he, personally, must behave and also what the behavior of his group must be, the rules that he should comply with so that his prestige be not diminished since such would involve the lowering of the prestige of his group and have its repercussions when they try to obtain justice after any friction. This is what causes the bonds of consanguinity to tighten more and more and manifest themselves in the generous gifts each individual member subscribes to help another at a time when the clan, as a group, is being appraised by outsiders; and it is this that the child must learn, really learn: proper cult practices for his ancestors at the moment of their death and later, corresponding to their social status and that of the consanguineous relatives.

* * *

604 The training of a child of the middle years is not connected to the localization of the family, because at this period he breaks away from the small family circle in order to live with his other relatives for long periods of time.

When the marriage is solemnized under the Guajiro rite and when that tradition is still followed, the young boy is initiated and instructed almost entirely by the maternal uncle of most importance or of highest standing in the family circle. So, once the little boy can get around alone from place to place, this uncle, who generally will have in his possession all the

/160 cont./

765 that they have felt the spirit of the departed, which to them is an indication that they have not complied fully with the funeral ritual or that something was missing from the post-mortem attire or that he lacks some material necessities beyong the grave. For this reason they take him food and drink. Another practice is that any Guajiro -- man or woman -- who passes by the cemetery must enter, above all if he knows there has been a recent burial, and cry a little over the graves, recalling his own troubles and those of his clan. In the period immediately following the burial, the relatives of the dead person light bonfires in his honor during the night in order to illumine the road he must follow until he arrives at his future home, and so that his spirit will not continue to wander, like that of a murderer or a suicide, or become harmful. In Santander del Sur this custom existed in the distant past but nowadays the peasants limit themselves to placing a candle inside the sleeve of the deceased's shroud, so that he may light his path.

765 The Guajiro family remember their relative for a long
769 time. Every sunrise before starting their day's work, they weep for him and the others of their clan group who have died (Cf. Chap. II, Cult of the dead).

When some time has passed after the burial of their relative (four or five months), two women return to his grave, almost secretly, his mother and his most beloved aunt, or his first wife. They reopen the grave until they find the body, raise it halfway up the grave, putting earth inside and then re-covering it. They say the object of this is to avoid the skeleton's being dispersed at such a depth when the exhumation
[793] takes place. These two women, after having carried out this labor, go through a special purification. About two years after death comes the time for exhumation, when all the relatives come together. They send out runners to announce the exhumation. All come to this ceremony in which the slaughter and distribution of animals and of drink is repeated; it takes place in the house of the deceased or in the cemetery itself,

/160 cont./

765 where an enramada /bough-covered shelter/ is erected if the
769 house is too far away. The remains are put into an earthen-
● ware urn which is placed on a hammock around which they all congregate, also on hammocks, the female friends and relatives weeping over the dead man a second time. A new grave is dug in the clan cemetery, in which his remains are deposited. At the present time it is customary for each small family of means to have a common funerary urn /161/ in which the bone remains of all the immediate consanguineous members are accumulated.

The exhumation of the remains is a labor entrusted to the very close relatives of the dead man who were much attached to him. By this action they are offered a family honor which, like the digging of his grave, is never refused. These individuals, two in number, open up the grave; and one, his body totally covered with a robe and his hands wrapped in a cloth, scratches in the earth to find the bones. As the region is so dry the bodies are marvelously preserved. First of all he brings out the skull with much respect amid the silence of the others gathered around. He cleans it carefully, showing his affection for the deceased in each of these details, and then he passes it to his companion, together with the rest of the bones. This assistant is covered, especially his face, and his work consists in placing the remains in the urn destined beforehand for such a purpose. These two persons, once having finished their operation, carefully purify themselves and for some time after follow a special diet.

In these exhumation ceremonies, the relatives of the exhumed person submit to the same dietary proscription of not partaking of the meat of the slaughtered animals, and they receive the sympathy of their relatives and friends, who have come together again for this purpose.

768 A funeral custom still exists but has been weakened in some sectors that are more in contact with whites and the influence of the mission, and that is to abandon the house where the sick man died immediately after the body has been buried,

/253 cont./

554 548 with respect to social questions as fundamental as marriage, there has been a change in the judgment of prostitution and concubinage, two ways by which a woman escapes from legal strictures, almost always because of necessity or the special circumstances in which her group is placed.

X

554 562 888 We should note here the important fact that the functions ascribed to the working Guajiro woman no longer count when she has passed through her adult change of life, that is to say, when she has passed the menopause. From this moment it appears that she enjoys absolute freedom within the community to do those things that are prohibited a woman before she reaches that condition, such as to become inebriated, to smoke, to indulge in sexual liberties; certain taboos now no longer refer to her, and the cultural patterns need not be so rigorously complied with; she is not obliged to become the wife of the heirs of the dead husband, etc. Her status again becomes effective with all its attached functions after her death, as we shall see.

XI

554 769 775 The active presence of an individual in Guajiro society is not lost at his death. In the concept that these natives have about death, clearly expressed in the study made by my husband to which we have /254/ made reference several times, every member of the community continues being a member of it and exercises influence over his fellow men after his death. His status in the afterlife is determined by the same conditions that he had during his earthly life: the acquiring of greater wealth and of prestige confers a higher status in the world of the spirits.

/254 cont./

554 His functions keep on being carried out by means of inter-
769 mediaries, as happens in the case of the piache, since the
775 shaman, or medicine man, is nothing more than an intermediary between society and the world of the spirits; his illumination is determined by the action of famous dead shamans who are reincarnated, one might say, in the living one and determine many of the actions of the community, especially those with reference to Illness and to Death. In other words, the shaman in his life is not guided by his own personality but rather by that of the shamans who have deigned to come down to him to indicate the functions that he must comply with, the rules that he must observe, and, in short, all the indispensable acts of his profession. The spiritual direction of the group is thus in the hands of the dead, who continue to look after their group in a more effective manner than when they were alive.

The gradation of status which we have seen in Guajiro society in previous paragraphs is also followed in the world of the dead, in which murderers, for example, occupy their same condition of outlaws, as also do suicides; they do not wander about freely as the other spirits do but are condemned to crawl face downward along the ground. And, if while in life they were a threat to the regimen for personal security or collective stability, they are also so after dying; from this develops the series of preventive practices relative to these spirits.

## XII

554 Status is susceptible to modifications both upward and down-
558 ward. The causes of ascent are implicit in the conditions referred to, which as they are reached one by one confer on the individual an increase in his prestige, or keep it maintained. Among the sources of descent we can enumerate the following as the principal ones: a) the scarcity of male members for some reason or other in the clan unit or in the small family

[50 cont.]

782 arrow in the first case and saves a person sentenced to death in a dream through the blood of a sacrificed animal in the second. (h) Furthermore, in the second case we find an apparent substitution of the personality of the individual, or better still, a partial sacrifice of the same on his handing over for sacrifice an animal owned by him. (i) In the sacrifice of animals of a ritual funerary character, we can distinguish the following effects obtained: First the propitiation of the dead man's spirit which, as may be seen in the chapter corresponding to "Magic and Funerals," 769 can be beneficial, neutral, or malicious. This depends on whether all the considerations due to his status are maintained or not, or if all or part of the taboos established in this respect in the course of the social life of the community are violated or not. Second, the confirmation of the belief of a life beyond the tomb as a reflection of the earthly life. The sacrifice, in the sense that the dead animal accompanies its owner into the next life and places him on the same social plane that he occupied in this one among his fellow spirits there, confirms such a belief in the almost material life beyond the grave. [51]

## IV

### Sickness and Medicine

771 813 181 If we take into account the essential characteristics of primitive mentality, we should remember that their world is what we might call metaphysical, since the objects that surround them do not have a real existence as they do not look at them with a truly objective discernment but allow their imagination to be deceived by the strange things around them so that these become supernatural beings, all animated, not in the physical sense of movement but in their capacity to do good or evil, or to intervene in any manner whatever in the lives of men, of other beings, and of the cosmos in general. All that relates to the surroundings of primitive people: rocks, plants, animals, natural phenomena ... , are active beings in the best sense of the word, capable of intervention and worthy of the Indian's respect,

[77 cont.]
762 783 should not be transmitted to the persons who for any circumstance may approach or touch them.

762 The wickedness of the spirit of the suicide, in any event, is seen to be reaffirmed by another Guajiro belief, which is that 769 795 of not daring to pass at [78] night by the place where an Indian may have hanged himself because his spirit wanders continually around the place, and being malignant it will certainly pursue and chase after one in the form of a great flame or some other shape.

795 As we proceed to set down the present data relating to the participation of the dead in the lives of the Guajiro community, we shall refer to those related to the spirits of suicides with the idea of obtaining greater objectivity in our statements.

Presence and life of the dead. The spirit of the dead, known usually by the name wanurú and at other times as yoruja, on being separated from its body wanders about the world. Although it no longer has any tangible relationship with terrestial things, it is still dangerous. Usually it takes refuge in lonely and isolated places such as in some cemeteries, in the crevices formed by sea erosion in Cabo de la Vela, or in the solitudes of the Emejuy forest. But it appears that in addition to these places frequented by the spirits of the dead, there is one undetermined special place far away from La Guajira. It is customary when a 764 woman has died to cover her face with paipai (a paint for the 795 face) before wrapping her in her shroud and placing her in her coffin ready for burial. The explanation for this is that she is going on a long journey, a very long journey, and the sun to which she will be exposed will be very strong and harmful to her face. For this reason, according to Guajiro custom, they must try to protect the skin of her face from the sun's action by the use of this face paint. Also she is going to pay a visit, and it is indispensable that a woman should have her face painted when visiting friends or relatives (55).

751 55. The Guajiro woman, every time she is exposed to the sun's rays, protects her face with paipai powder (color of burnt sienna)

[84 cont.]

682 family groups — that of the murderer and that of the victim —
775 is it considered necessary for the murderer to flee to distant parts to avoid the vengeance of his enemies falling on him. We have here, then, a repetition, different in form but essentially the same, of a disguise to avoid the presence of the spirits, [171] which the Witoto practice either in the father, the mother, or the child, with the object of protecting the child from the malevolent action of the spirits (Cf. "Sickness and Medicine").

787 Presence of the dead in dreams. The dead person can also reappear through the medium of dreams. He is then as real, as
769 alive, to the Indian as in his apparition during the day or night in a corporeal or other form, such as we have shown throughout this chapter. For this reason, when an Indian dreams of one of his dead relatives on any occasion, he believes that this relative is in need of something in his other world and requires [85] special help from his relatives. He therefore assembles the dead man's closest relatives, and they all go as soon as possible to the grave of the person who appeared in the dream and take a little food with them. After some time passed in lamentation over the tomb, they unwrap the meat expressly taken there for the occasion and seat themselves on the grave, prepared to eat, saying as they begin eating, "Come then, let us all eat together." To avoid the appearance of spirits through dreams, it is a general custom to visit the graves of the dead at times of full moon [luna clara], at night, and on the anniversary of the person's death.

The explanation of the spirit's appearance in a dream can be found very clearly expressed in the words we quote from Dr. Born and according to which "... from experiences in the world of dreams he derived the belief in the soul as a clear explanation of the consciousness of "ego," which is opposed to the destiny of death." According to this, in the dream communication is established between two spirits, between two souls, as Dr. Born says: that of the dead, already definitively free of its human wrapping; and that of the living, momentarily free of its body by the effects of the dream.

766 Burial and children. When the first-born of a Guajiro marriage dies before other children are born, they place it in an urn

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13



The *Goajiro* believe that after death the deceased in ethereal form 775
wander about the country, their favorite meeting place being in the vicinity of Bahía Honda in the extreme north of the peninsula. There is some evidence that the Indians look forward to a happier existence after death. From this belief in the afterlife stems the practice of mutilating the body of a slain enemy, for once his body is broken and scattered it is not possible to reassemble his soul, and the slayer is protected from a vengeance-seeking spirit.

The dead are highly respected or feared; consequently, it is a serious 769 551
offense to mention a dead person by name.

## ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

**Games.**—The *Goajiro* have various athletic sports, such as horse racing, 526
wrestling, and archery. Contestants shoot at a skin ball or a fruit tossed into the air or at targets; they are very accurate up to 125 yards. Tournaments are held in which the contestants pair off, the victor of each round winning an arrow and continuing to compete.

**Feasts and dances.**—The *Goajiro* are fond of feasts and hold them 574
whenever opportunity offers—at funerals, when they have received their 756
pay for loading salt, at baptisms, or when a person completes his training as a medicine man. Weston (1937) describes a festival held on the last-mentioned occasion. For 2 days the big drum was sounded by relays of players, spreading the news. The dance, practiced beforehand, took place in a circle some 25 feet (7.5 m.) in diameter around which some 200 [292
Indians gathered. A man, nude except for his waist cloth and head band 535]
with ornamental plume, with his face painted red in a crisscross pattern, danced backward from a girl dressed in a voluminous robe and wearing a large red handkerchief on her head. The girl attempted to overtake and head off the man, who retreated before her in a circle with a peculiar double step, almost a hop and a skip. As one pair tired another took its place, the dance continuing indefinitely.

**Musical instruments.**—*Goajiro* musical instruments are few. A 534
calabash filled with stones or peas serves as a rattle for dance accompaniment. The clarinet is about 2 feet (0.6 m.) long, made of telescoped (?) sections of reed with a bell consisting of calabash and a vibrating reed in the mouthpiece. It is side blown. The large drum is carved from a hollow section of tree, 15 inches (38 cm.) in diameter and 24 inches (60 cm.) long, and has both ends covered with sheepskin. It is slung from the rafters, a branch, or from the player's neck. Singing among the *Goajiro* is virtually nonexistent.

**Narcotics and stimulants.**—To make chicha beer, maize may be mas- 273
ticated by the women and spat into a large earthenware bowl, with water and crude sugar added. After 3 days it is strained and drunk. By another